

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 ISO-00 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12  
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R 121306Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2638  
INFO USMISSION USUN NY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 5226

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, NI, US  
SUBJ: NIGERIAN UN PERMREP'S VIEWS ON AFRICAN ISSUES

1. IN COURSE OF A DISCUSSION WITH USUN OFFICER APRIL 11, NIGERIA'S UN PERMREP HARRIMAN PRESENTED HIS VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF AFRICAN ISSUES, INCLUDING NIGERIAN/UGANDA RELATIONS, THE OAU PRESENCE IN UGANDA, NIGERIAN POLICY TOWARDS THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND POSSIBLE NEXT STEPS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CONVERSATION.

2. NIGERIAN/UGANDAN RELATIONS - HARRIMAN SAID THAT NIGERIA HAS MADE STRONG PRIVATE REPRESENTATIONS TO AMIN IN WHICH IT HAS OBJECTED TO HIS DOMESTIC POLICIES, INCLUDING THE PERSISTENT SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HARRIMAN SAID THAT HE HAD RECOMMENDED TO COMMISSIONER GARBA THAT NIGERIA SHOULD MAKE THESE STATEMENTS PUBLICLY. HARRIMAN FURTHER THOUGHT THAT THE OAU SHOULD TRANSFER ITS HEADQUARTERS FROM KAMPALA UNLESS AMIN CHANGED HIS POLICIES. HE ALSO NOTED THAT MANY UGANDAN DIPLOMATS PRESENTLY STATIONED ABROAD FEARED GOING BACK  
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TO UGANDA (THE SAME APPLIED TO ETHIOPIAN DIPLOMATS).

3. LIBERATION MOVEMENTS - HARRIMAN SAID THAT NIGERIAN POLICY TO THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WAS BASED NOT ON IDEOLOGY BUT RATHER ON A PRAGMATIC ASSESSMENT OF THEIR STRENGTH AND STAYING POWER. IN ANGOLA, NIGERIA HAD THROWN ITS SUPPORT TO THE MPLA ONLY AFTER IT BECAME

CLEAR THAT IT WAS THE DOMINANT FORCE. AS REGARDS SOUTH AFRICA, HARRIMAN SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE ANC IS THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE. THE PAC HAD DISCREDITED ITSELF IN NIGERIA, EGYPT, ALGERIA AND INDIA BY BEING UNABLE TO ACCOUNT FOR DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS GIVEN TO IT BY THOSE COUNTRIES. (THE PAC LEADER, HE ADDED, WAS LIVING IT UP--LUXURY SUITS, ETC.) AS REGARDS RHODESIA, NIGERIA WAS KEEPING ITS DISTANCE FROM THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN ITS PRESENT FORM AND REFUSED TO SUPPORT ANY FACTION FOR THE TIME BEING. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S PROBLEM WAS COMPLICATED BY THE INVOLVEMENT OF OUTSIDE POWERS, INCLUDING CHINA AND THE UK, IN SUPPORTING RIVAL FACTIONS. NIGERIA WOULD WAIT FOR THE DUST TO SETTLE BEFORE DECIDING WHICH OF THE COMPETING FACTIONS IT WOULD SUPPORT. HE THOUGHT THE GON WOULD EVENTUALLY BACK MUGABE.

4. PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA - HARRIMAN SAID HE HOPED THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD SUCCEED IN ADOPTING THE DECLARATION ON SOUTH AFRICA, WESTERN ENDORSEMENT OF THE DECLARATION WOULD CONVINCE LARGE NUMBERS OF WHITE RHODESIANS THAT THE SMITH GOVERNMENT WAS ISOLATED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HE HOPED A SIMILAR PROCESS WOULD DEVELOP IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT THESE DEVELOPMENTS WOULD GENERATE PRESSURES FOR CHANGE FROM WITHIN BOTH COUNTRIES.

5. AFRICA AND THE WEST - HARRIMAN OBSERVED THAT THE AFRICANS WERE LOOKING TO THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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LEAD IN BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WHILE THE EUROPEANS MIGHT AGREE NOT TO SELL ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA, THEY WOULD DO LITTLE MORE. THEY WERE COMMITTED TO PROTECTING THEIR INVESTMENTS. THE FRENCH, IN PARTICULAR, HAD LARGE INVESTMENTS IN BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND WEST AFRICA. NIGERIA, HE THOUGHT, SHOULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF SELECTIVE ECONOMIC RETALIATION AGAINST FRANCE IF IT CONTINUED TO TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA. FOR INSTANCE, ONE FRENCH CONSTRUCTION FIRM HAS CONTRACTS WORTH \$4 BILLION IN NIGERIA. IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO TERMINATE THIS CONTRACT. (IN A PASSING REMARK, HE ADDED THAT OF COURSE IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR NIGERIA TO RETALIATE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.) SCHNEIDER

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